1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

was in the habit of warming himself in the sun in the morning. The cry of Valelailai was *Sereivalu*, one of the god Tui Lakemba's names.

Captives are called *mbombula* (caught alive). They were despised. Should a man of Nasangalau who had been a captive come and speak in Tumbou he would be shut up with the words, "You are a captive." The custom of taking prisoners is said to be ancient. The Tongans of Lau in Christian times made prisoners on a large scale; whole villages were brought over to Lakemba to work for one to ten years, then the Lord of Naiau said, "Let So-and-so take them back to their village." Then a nobleman of Tumbou would take them home, build them houses, and come back. The captives would some day bring a feast in return.

VICTORY

For a slain enemy a drum was beaten (*lali ni mbakola*). Those who had slain a man blackened their faces, wore a train and a turban, and were finely dressed; they sat on the upper deck of the canoe, singing a *thimbi*: "*To alewa, tangane, veitho* [four times], *salia.*" (Women's side, men's side, intermingle, passage [?]). In the West and in Thakaundrove the girls sang obscene songs called *ndele* thus:

You are like this
We are like this

alluding to sex.

The manslayer stands in the village with his club on his shoulder and the gentlemen and ladies come and place before him plentiful gifts, for which no return is expected. He is said to *thouvi* or *thovi*, and the gifts are termed *i thouvi* or *i thovi*. Then they give him a new name: Koroi or Dog, or Canoe, or comb of some big nobleman, thus Wanggaimalani, Seruimalani, meaning that Malani embarked upon him to be saved, or he combed things out so that nothing might be tangled, but Malani might pass. When a man had slain two or three men, he was called Shark; if six he was Tawakeono. Seven flags; if ten, Tawaketini. These were names of mighty men. Now Koroi is used of academic degrees.

A man saved by another remembered the deed, and sooner or later, it might be ten years, gave him plenty of stuff (*i yau*), and his descendants would remember it and save the descendants of that man. Such gifts were called the thing for a life (*ka ni mbula*). If a man saved the High Chief, Roko Sau would give him a daughter as wife, or give him land, and remember his family.

Peace is called *sautu*, from *sau*, chief, rule, sovereignty, and *tu*, standing, chief, state. The same word also means prosperity, plenty.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

BELIEF IN THE SUPERNATURAL

Spirits

The usual word for spirits is *tevoro* (devil), a word evidently imported 775
by the Tahitian missionaries as *tevolo*. Another word is *timoni* (demon) [177]
which seems to be more particularly a Moala word.

Three kinds of *tevoro* are recognized: *tevoro* proper; souls of the dead; *vu*, or *tevoro vu*, the ancestor spirit (*tevoro vu*) of old; Luveniwai, or Children of Water, which are like men, living in the home.

The word for soul (*yalo*) also means mind, disposition, intention; it 774
takes the suffixed possessive—*yalona*. Reduplicated, it means shadow, reflection in the water, picture; it then takes the *O* possessive—*ona yaloyalo*.

A boy defined the soul as that whereby we live, move, and speak. Some boys place it in the midrib. The boy who defined the soul also thought that it goes away in sleep and returns in the morning; he did not know where it went, "Sometimes we dream that we shake hands with a person, but we wake up and find he is not there; we have shaken hands with his soul. The souls, though not visible, can see one another (*veirai vakayalo*)."

Another boy believes that when a man is weak and about to die, his 763
soul goes away, either by day or night; it dislikes the body because it is nearly dead, and so refuses to stay in it. A soul that wanders away from the body is called *yalo mbula* (living soul) as opposed to *yalo ni mate* (soul of the dead).

It is believed that wraithes sometimes appear shortly before the death of the person, and that if the wraith is called, the person does not die. It is thought that the large green grasshopper (in Mbauan, leaf grasshopper) bears the wraith, and appears to a kinsman when a person is about to die.

It was a moot point whether or not the word *tevoro* applied to wraiths. Wraiths are opposed to true spirits or spirits proper (*tevoro ndina*)—that is the souls of the dead and the *vu*; the true *tevoro* are also opposed to the Children of Water.

The word *tevoro* appears to be used of dead men, not their souls only. 775
My impression is that it is used of the dead lying in the grave, though I 196
have recorded no definite instance. It is sometimes used in the sense of "heathen"; the adjective *vakatevoro* (heathenish) is used of anything which is condemned by the Church from a heathen temple (*mbure vakatevoro*) to free love, which is described as living in heathen style (*tiko vakatevoro*); anything in which *tevoro*, spirits, are concerned is heathenish.

The old word which *tevoro* and *timoni* have displaced is *kalou*, which is 776
now chiefly used to designate the Christian God, sometimes the Fijian gods 196
(*kalou Vakaviti*). The word *kalou* is not now used of ghosts; but when

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

776 Malani was young the people used indifferently *kalou* and *tevoro* of the souls
196 of the dead; if the soul of the dead man came they said, "So-and-so has come as a *kalou* (*vakalou*)." The *tevoro vu* are frequently called *kalou vu* to the present day. The Children of Water were formerly known as *kalou rere*.

196 It will be seen that the words *kalou, tevoro, timoni,* do not correspond to any single word in our language. I shall therefore translate them ghost, spirit, god, elf, heathen, as the context may require. As for the word *turanga,* a definiteness may be introduced which is not in the original. A Fijian often would be at a loss to say to which class he is referring.

Miracles

778 The word *mana,* like almost all roots, can be a noun, an adjective, or a
196 verb. It describes supernatural efficiency. Tui Tumbou gives the following explanation of the word: "A *mana* thing is a thing which was from the beginning and is *mana*; as for a spirit (*tevoro*) thing, if we speak to it, then the words of the spirit do *mana*; but if it does not come to pass they do not *mana*. If it is true (*ndina*), it is *mana*; if not true then it is not *mana*. A thing done by spirits is *mana*. In the Solomon Islands things *mana* because they were from the beginning. In Fiji they don't *mana*; they do *mana* once, but if another man uses them they don't *mana*. A Fijian medicine does *mana* if it works; it does not *mana* if it does not work."

The word *mana* is also explained as *yanga,* useful, effective. The opposite of *mana* is *ndai* which means to lie, to deceive, to be strong, to disappoint expectation.

The suffix *ta* makes *mana* transitive, in which case it means to act upon, to affect, as in the phrase: *"A thava e manati iko"* (What ails you?).

Ghosts

775 Ghosts live about graves; in fact a boy defined a grave as a place where ghosts abide. There were several graves within the school grounds so ghosts were quite common there, and much feared, so that people kept away at night. Ratu Finau sent word to my assistant not to go down at night alone to the village as the nobles were buried about there and might do him harm. One boy was afraid of cutting firewood near the graves lest the ghosts smite him; another attributed a swelling in his eye to a ghost from the graveyard among the ironwood trees. They did not like going alone at night because of ghosts. "How is it," I said, "I never see any one?"

"They are afraid of your lantern."

"Sometimes I do not take one."

"Oh! white men if they see a ghost say it is a man."

"Why do not ghosts come into my house at night?"

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

775 out; if a child is about to die he carries the stalk of a coconut bunch or leaf as firewood for the child's death feast.

Formerly a man's relative would enter him, and be embodied in him, (*vakatolo*, having a body), and would prophesy a famine. Of old a man at his death became the god of his son, his soul was the god of his son. The spirits of a medicine (*kalou ni tui*) are the spirits, the man's kinsmen, or whatever it be. Formerly feasts and many things were offered as supplications to the souls of men. If a man were ill, a feast would be offered with the words, "So-and-so is ill, etc." Then prayers would be made over it (*masulakina*) and the name of the father uttered. A house would be built over a grave as a supplication on behalf of a sick child.

The soul of Malani, the second Tui Naiau, "jumped on" (*rikata*, possessed) Mbeteninggalulu, a Yandrana man, who told the people to build a temple for Malani.

One boy was inclined to ascribe anything inexplicable to spirits:

> Turtle fishing with a sucker fish is considered spirit work, because if the fish sought out the turtle that fish must be a spirit, for to a spirit all things are easy; true a horse is obedient to the will of man, but the horse is a man-like animal; but, if you catch a fish and let it go again, will it know you again?—If a cock crows at the wrong time it is due to spirits. Perhaps developing negatives has to do with spirits.

The following animals were enumerated by boys as being spirits: the kingfisher (*sethala*), the black ant (*kandi*), the *mburongo*, the *sise*, and the owl (*lulu*).

It is believed that the spirit enters the body of an animal in order to attract man through his curiosity and to overcome his soul, rendering him mad and causing him thus to follow the ways of spirits.

Deities

Introduction

96 The word *vu* may best be rendered by the French word *souche*, it means the stem of a tree, the base, origin, cause, reason. It is added to the word *tevoro* or *kalou*, and the expression *tevoro vu* is defined as "the origin of the land, whence men originate" (*a vu ni vanua e vu kina a tamata*). The word is sometimes used alone, or in the expression *vu ni vanua* (origin or ancestor of the land). These gods however are constantly spoken of simply as *tevoro*, *timoni*, or *kalou*, and the word *vu* is only used to make it plain. I have some doubt in fact whether the world is strict Lauan. The Polynesian word *tupua* is largely used instead of *vu*, especially in the Southern Islands.

Temples are called *mbure kalou* (spirit halls), or simply *mbure*. As none is extant I must refer to Williams (18). His drawing of Nautuutu how-